

earing tear through our State while the blighting influence of his measures and the burning reproach of his calumny are yet resting upon us.

In the election of the autumn of 1837, the Empire State had signally repudiated the measures recommended by the President—had triumphed over the combined powers of Agraianism and Luddellism—leagued in their support, and the interference of government officers with the freedom of elections—had sustained her faithful Senator and patriotic Representatives who maintained their political principles and the public interests against executive dictation, and showed to the world that "New York alone and single handed, acted out her principles WITHIN HERSELF, and FOR HERSELF. Although justly proud of the elevation of one of her own sons to the highest office in the gift of the People, the lands of the Clintons and Tompkins' would not submit to be tamely *bartered away for Presidential votes*, nor rest in quiet when the PUBLIC LIBERTY WAS IN DANGER.

Fellow-Citizen!—We were of the number that most ardently advocated and supported the election of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency. We did so under the most thorough convictions that his principles were democratic republican, and that the honor and glory of his Country and the happiness and prosperity of its people would be promoted by the success of his ambition, and the noble ends of his administration. Language cannot adequately express the depths of our disappointment when we found him blindly or madly burying the country into the abyss of ruin; and in the hour of peril, coldly and selfishly attempting to withdraw himself from the people, uttering the sentiments that "government had nothing to do but to take care of itself," and "that we must take care of ourselves." We are equally deficient in power to express the amazement with which we saw his recommendation of the Sub-treasury scheme and Special Bankrupt Law. While Mr. Van Buren was a member of the administration of his "illustrious predecessor," the Sub-treasury scheme was introduced in Congress by a then Nullifying Whig. The measure then received but one solitary vote from the friends of the administration, and it was so manifest that it was it of any apparent claims to merit, that it received no countenance from the opposition members generally.—The organ of the administration with the sanction and authority of President Jackson, denounced the measure as "disorganizing and revolutionary, subversive of the fundamental principles of our government and its entire practice from 1789 to that day, as tending" "inevitably to bring down upon the country a storm of ruin, and to place in his hands the means of corruption," as endangering the safety of the public money, and expediting it to be plundered by an hundred hands when one could not then reach it." In the justice and truth of these declarations Mr. Van Buren and the whole democratic republican party at that time concurred. The measure was not democratic republican then and the objections then urged against it by the whole democratic republican party, are still urged against his principles. Yet in 1837, Mr. Van Buren himself recommends this same project of the Nullifiers, with all the fundamental objections to it, and its previous condemnation by the party before him and has avowed his determination to persist in it, "in spite of all lamentations here or elsewhere."

And he is now engaged in a personal electioneering tour, bringing the weight of his official station to his aid in the determination to force this of-fen-sive scheme upon the people. "Was Mr. Buren *honest* in concurring in the *objection* of the Sub-treasury scheme by General Jackson's administration in 1834? Was he a democratic republican when he opposed the project of the Nullifiers then? If so, can he be *honest* in recommending it now?"

Can he now a democratic republican when he has embraced the measure of our enemies, and is supported by the *Nullifiers*? Are the objections that it is subversive of the fundamental principles of our government," "incalculably enlarged the executive power," such as any sincere republican or man of integrity can overcome? Mr. Van Buren has apostatized from the faith he professed and the measures of his predecessors in his recommendation of the Sub-treasury scheme. In the President's recommendation of a bankrupt law applicable to corporations and other bankers, his character is exhibited in an equally inconsistent light. As a member of the Senate of the United States Mr. Van Buren denounced this same feature, of a bankrupt law, as "the most dangerous and oppressive rights of the States, and a measure never attempted in any civilized country on the face of the earth." Was this recommendation of a measure thus truly denounced by him either *honest, republican, or patriotic*?

Fellow Citizens: when we behold depravity, from principles and truth so glaring and awful as these, we could not as faithful democratic republicans deny our previous sentiments—forsake our cause, or join the renegade standard. Ardently attached as we had been to Mr. Van Buren, and strengthened as our bonds of devotion to him were by long, vigorous, and successful struggles for his personal promotion, we were not prepared to sacrifice our country, and the glorious Institutions of civil liberty, which have made us the people of a free and the land of the oppressed, for the sake of personal vanity, revenge, or ambition. We adopted the lines of that renowned patriot of the revolution, Samuel Adams, that "it is awful to resist the Chief Magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved," and when Mr. Van Buren, the head of the party, went over to the *slavifying* whigs, and recommended their measures, we remained steadfast to our principles, resisting those measures and defending our country.

The further acts of Mr. Van Buren's administration have been but further illustrations of his entire abandonment of Democratic Republican principles and of his disregard of the pledge upon which our confiding citizens entrusted him with power. Under his brief administration the country has been visited with more social evils than were suffered by our ancestors from the tyranny and oppression of the British crown.—These evils have not been founded in natural causes, but admittedly grew out

of the action of some part of the artificial machinery of society. They are universally known, unfeigned, and if their cause can be ascertained, humanity and self preservation demand its speedy removal and the erection of such safeguards as will prevent future aggressions. We have two artificial structures growing out of the state of freedom and civilization we enjoy, and designed for their protection and preservation. The floor of each of which is different, the parties by the charge of which are different, the causes of the existing distresses, and demands for their removal as the only means of restoring the prosperity and happiness of the people. The opponents of the Federal Loco-foco administration, charge the origin and continuance of the mischief under which the country now labors to the active experiment and projects of the Federal administration upon and against the credit system; on the other hand the Federal Loco-focos charge the same evils to the credit system, and demand the immediate and total destruction of the State Banks and the introduction of a paper currency. The Federal Executive maintains his friends the original Loco-focos in this charge, and brings the whole weight of his official and personal influence, and the organization of the party so far as he can command it, to their support. When the small band of Agrarians in the city of New York held their meeting in the Park, in the spring of 1837, and resolved to have an exclusive metallic currency, adopted the watchword "Down with the Banks" and then sallied forth in a body, and sacked the retail stores of the specimen of a dollar, and the small change which they had introduced, it was not anticipated by any members of the Democratic Republican party, that these heresies were to be substituted for their political principles, or that they were to be dragged into their support—or that the President of their choice was to present them for the approbation of the people.

But this wonder has been exhibited, and a large portion of a non-concurring and dissenting party have been tamely led in spite of the remonstrances of conscience, the dictates of duty, and of a sense of consistency, to embrace doctrines which they have for good cause repudiated, and measures which they abhorred. While we pity the depravity of those

into whose souls the party iron has sunk so deep that they will sink the country to save themselves. we cannot look upon you, the great body of our fellow citizens, as so dead to every sentiment of patriotism as to forget, that "you have a country to save as well as a party to serve."

The weapons of warfare against the Credit System are the Sub-trustary scheme and the Bankrupt Law applicable to Corporations, and other Bankers and Federal Loco-focos ask you to aid them in attaining these objects. Their opponents charge upon them and their measures the authorship of our calamities, and demand a change of administration and a restoration of salutary measures of government. Which of these two divisions is the right? It is for you, fellow-citizens, to decide, and you are to bear the burthens or reap the benefits of that decision.

If the federal loco-foco administration right, and will you as a people and a nation be benefited by the immediate and total destruction of your vast credit system, through which your fathers gained you freedom and independence, and by which your private enterprises have prospered, your industry rewarded, and your country exalted beyond any parallel in the history of man? Or are the federal loco-focus wrong and would the adoption of the Sub-trustary scheme and a special bankrupt law prove destructive to all your remaining private interests, to the form of your republican government, to your freedom and independence as a people, and your honor and glory as a nation? This issue is distinctly made, and the President has himself given the matter cry, "watch-word." Down with the Banks" resounds through the apostate nation, the lie ofers of his party are lashing up the lagards and grumbling followers in the ranks, and all erince their thorough consciousness of the importance of the stake and the irrevocable consequences of the struggle.

The sole question to be determined by you is who are the authors of the present national evils?—Who hath laid the pecuniary blockade upon our commerce? Who hath brought down the agricultural productions and closed the granary of the farmer for the want of a remunerating price? Who has made the mechanic unable to render his services, and sent the industrial laborer forth to wander in the community without employment and without bread? Who hath taken our property from us without our consent by reducing the value of our possessions, cramping enterprise, and depriving industry of its reward? Who is to answer for the present depression of the country during the approaching inclement season, when the pressure of the times has closed the hands that gave employment, and exhausted the coffers from whence flowed the blessed streams of charity and assistance? Who is to answer for the increased demoralization and crime produced by the struggle to upturn the foundations upon which the nation has been built, and the consequent atmosphere of gloom and filling our prisons with victims of crime consequent upon their misfortunes. Is it the Banks or the Federal Government?

Fellow Citizens! We have had banks under all the administrations of the Federal Government. We have always been accustomed to them in our cities towns and villages. We have found them in general directed by men in whom their neighbors repose the utmost confidence—able to comprehend all the intellectual and mechanical pursuits; giving to virtuous poverty an equal chance of success; well inherited and acquired wealth; and enjoyed from them a currency equal in safety and value to gold and silver, and greatly more convenient; and no, the banks as such, nor those institutions conjoined with any other administration of the federal government have ever brought upon the country the evils which we are suffering from the present Federal *banknote*. Are the banks, how skillful must have been the administrations of Jefferson and Madison, of Monroe, Adams and Jackson, not to have brought them out into action! And how deplorably ignorant must have been Mr. Van Buren to make a shipwreck with his first touch of the helm of the national government!—Under the previous administrations, the federal government was never a party in the struggle between the people and the banks, but was administered for their benefit. The State Banks have always belonged to the people. In times of war the banks sustained the government; and in days of peace the government the banks and the people pursued an uniform career of advancement and prosperity; the nation was honored and the people blessed. But under the administration of Mr. Van Buren, the government has been a party in the struggle between the people and the banks, and the property of the present incumbent, and his highest care and his most patriotic sentiment is to look out for himself, and leave the people to look out for themselves—we have experienced a destructive war upon the *credit system*—the parts of the body politic, which before harmonized, now present jarring and discord—and the nation has sunk from one abyss of misery to another, and we are groping in the hopeless attempt to fix it, death.

Do you wish the want of money to facilitate and transact the vast trade which exists within the limits of our own State? What causes this distress, and stops the richly laden cars of commerce on the road? Is it because the banks do not lend the money, and there has been a gradual withdrawing of the paper circulating medium? What, then, is the cause of the business crisis? Do you want transactions, and withhold the supplies of credit to your interest as well as their business to furnish you? It is because the whole power, influence, energy, and measures of this Federal Loco-foco Government are waging a war of extermination against them; and it has sent forth its decrees for their destruction, and for the destruction of your interests!

and your property in so far as they are connected with them; that their arm has been shortened, their assistance diminished, and the great financial interests of the country paralyzed? Can you remedy the existing evils growing out of a want of a circulating medium by destroying the little you now have? Will you be better off with less when your present misery flows from having too little? Will you desire no bread because you cannot, from the oppression of your rulers, enjoy the whole loaf.

Fellow citizens, we are no advocates, apologists or defenders of the banks, *as associations or incorporations*. We look only to the *great Credit System* under which the country prospered, until it was made the object of attack by the overwhelming power of the federal government; and we now up-
hold it as the *shield of the people*. We are not aware of its being the *chief* of the land blows of the enemies upon it in common with you, and we point you to the arm that strikes and not to the instrument through which *you* feel the struggle, and the just object of your indignation.

We have referred you to the past experience of successful enterprise and prosperity under our credit system, and the melancholy reverse produced by the Federal Loco-loco Government warfare upon it, to show that it is to the conduct of your *rules* you are to look for the sources of your discontent. The measures they have recommended, and the course they have pursued, have been the cause of the sufferings of the nation, and point out to you the only successful remedy. The credit system and the business of our citizens have always been based upon *confidence*. The war of the revolution was conducted, and the Independence of our nation achieved upon *confidence*. Our constitution of government rests upon *confidence*. And the great spring and guide of human action in all relations and situations of life, is "*moral probability*." When the country was poor, and exhausted by a seven years' struggle for independence, the *credit system* was the hand-maid of liberty, poured forth its supplies, gave life to enterprise, increased activity to industry, and wealth and happiness to our people. These blessings continued until the war commenced by the federal administration against it, and now you feel the want occasioned by its partial destruction.

But our rulers are not content with the sun

misery they have already produced. The fierce, fell spirit of destruction is not glutted by the ruin already made. The Agrarian Band, into whose keeping the President has committed himself, stimulated by partial success, now more loudly demands the total demolition of that structure upon which your happiness has been attained and your fortune

rest. The Sub-treasury scheme is the instrument which is to accomplish these fearful objects.

It is a menace which proposes as its foundation the subversion of the fundamental principles of our government. It proposes to place the public revenues in the hands of the Executive, through agents appointed by him and removable at his will. It unites the "sword and the purse," and deprives the people of all control over the public money. It makes the people the slaves of the public money, from whom they pay, and places it uselessly in the hands that spend it. It vastly increases the power of the Federal Executive by putting in his hands the means of corruption. It creates a multitude of new officers, and enables the Executive to send forth swarms of officers, "to harass our people and eat out their substance." It unites in the person of the Executive the command of the Army and Navy, the execution of the laws, and the keeping and disbursement of the public money. It creates a monarch, and attributes what defines a monarch and creates a tyrant. It brings the whole banking business and financial interests of the country at the feet of the Executive, and enables him to sport with the liberties and fortunes of our people. It creates the most odious and terrible of all Nations! Banks—an Executive Bank—possessing all power and not accountable to the people. The agents to wield this "internal machine" are the servants of the Executive, and only removable by him, and when he is freshly seated in the chair of State for a constitutionally limited term, he can only mock at your supplication by saying you shall have these corrupt instruments, or even for four years, in spite of all lamentations here or elsewhere. It separates the government from the people, and renders the servant superior to his master.

its influence upon the public interests, are equally direct and dreadful. It is a valid part of the plan, and the only scheme that the President has ever recommended, that the public revenues shall be received in gold and silver only; and to delude you into the adoption of this measure, you are told that it will enlarge the specie basis, and bring the product metals into a more direct circulation, that it will create a demand for specie, and the supply will come. These are fatal errors, and we warn you against their adoption. It has always happened, and it always will happen, that the greater the demand you create for money the less will be the supply; and the reason is, that it is not subject to the rules of demand and supply, but it governs them. The action of the Sub-Treasury scheme will *distract and disorder* your specie basis—bring down your credit system—your lands, productions and labor—will create a demand for specie, and the inevitable sufferings of a transitive state of society. It will do this by its most obvious operation. The plan is to receive nothing but gold and silver in the payment of the government dues. The disbursements are to be made in drafts of the Treasurer of the United States upon the Receivers General.—These drafts are to be in the form of bank notes, and form a medium of general circulation. Let us briefly call attention to the practical operation of this scheme, and see where it will lead. The collector at New York begins by receiving gold and silver, and making out the Treasurer of the United States. We will assume that he receives \$70,000 per day in payment of government dues. This amount is drawn from the people and locked up in his iron chest. The Treasurer of the United States then issues his drafts, in the form of bank bills, upon the collector at New York, against the money so received, and sends them to the public creditors at Green Bay, Florida, and in every part of the Union. They pass their drafts in payment of their debts. They circulate, as paper money, wherever there is a demand for money. They are made of gold and silver, while it is believed to be equally as good.

The public well know, that, unless the Sub-Treasurer has used the money in his speculations or lent it to some friend, or run away with it, that there is dollar for dollar in deposit to meet these drafts; and they will hold the draft with as much security as they would the gold and silver, and as they now do to the notes of their specie paying banks. The drafts are not to become a part of the currency, and general circulation, and are hoarded currency, and are not presented to the Sub-Treasurer, or the specie they represent returned to the channels of trade. These drafts represent the specie, and the specie, if the Sub-Treasurer is honest, remains under his "bolts and bars." But what is the effect of this process upon the banks and the community? In the first place, the specie has become a part of the currency, and is to be withdrawn; there is not over \$5,000,000 of specie, and suppose the Treasurer's agents against the collections, to remain outstanding, as it is their tendency to do, how long would it be before every dollar in specie in the only world be brought into the vault of the collector? Only about *seventy days?* But may we be said that the drafts would remain in circulation, and the specie would be withdrawn? Why should they not? And when would they first begin to come in? It is undeniable that they would remain out so long as the paper currency they furnish, in common with the other paper currency of the country, was equal to gold and silver, because of their convenience. Then, they would only begin to come in when the paper money was *depreciated*—when the specie was in demand compared to the paper, which would not be until the drafts, which the government had broken the banks! Then they would come in to some extent because the premium they would bear would pay the expense of presenting, and transporting specie. To this "complexion it would come at last"—the destruction of the banks—*—the ruin of the credit system and the establishment of a new one.* The result would be, that the results it friends promise you, and the faint sketch will enable you to perceive the unerring certainty of their accomplishment.

Suppose you have a metallic currency? How then will your condition be improved? We have in this country about sixty million dollars of specie in our present circulation, notwithstanding the severe pressure of the times, is not less than five hundred million. How much more freely will you breathe with the aid of the President's small loan? How much more will you get down to sixty million dollars? The man who now gets a dollar per day for his work will then get a shilling! And think himself fortunate to find employment at that! The man who owns a farm and owes one-eighth part of its present value will lose his estate and be reduced to a pauper! The man who has a house worth \$100,000 will find his debtors will be reduced to hopeless insolvency! You can pretty nearly estimate how often any thing of real money would be seen among you. There have been now about twenty million dollars of Treasury notes issued by the federal government and yet who of you have ever seen a Treasury note! If twenty million dollars of Treasury notes were given rise to you what appearance will sixty million dollars of specie make.

Follow-up Address: Do you want arguments addressed to you to arouse your exertions to avert impending destruction! This fatal scheme of the Saboteurs is now suspended over you, like the sword of Damocles, by a single hair! It is for you to decide whether it shall fall upon you or whether you will strike down the traitorous arm that placed it over you. We are but common partakers of your sufferings and your happiness; and having warned you of your dangers we shall await your action, in the confident belief that it will be for freedom and self-preservation. Shall the people or the Executive control the public measures? Shall this be a Government of the people or a Government of the office-holders! Shall we have prosperity or ruin and misery!

Fellow-citizens! We maintain our stand upon the great political principles of Jefferson, defending the rights of man, of which he was the great eloquent champion. We maintain the government as he administered it—the rights of the States, and the sovereignty of the people. We select for our suffrages the candidates who come nearest to our principles, and who will best aid us in carrying out the great measures of reform, and of bringing the government back to the principles of Jefferson. We vote without fear, or affection—reward, or hope of reward. We know your general concurrence in our opinions, and we ask you to rise above a slavish submission to men, and unite in our common and successful effort to

throw off the incubus that rests upon us, and restore the prosperity and happiness of the people.

Most noble, fellow citizens, of *Mt. air*, did the proud spirited republicans of *New York* respond to these UNANSWERABLE objections to the re-election of their "own favorite son."—By a majority of many thousands they again sustained the patriotic TALLMADGE, who had led the gallant army of *Conservative* republicans, against the *Destructive* wing which continued to adhere to Mr. Van Buren—and it may tend at least to inspire us with the soul cheering certainty of the election of General Harrison, that in the popular elections which have taken place throughout that great State during the present spring, (since his name has been brought before the country in an unnumbered position the aggregate *Whig* gain, since the elections last fall, is computed by the leading paper in the State, at THIRTEEN per cent. We ask you, fellow citizens, to read over and over the lengthened extracts which we have made from this perspicuous and powerful address—to remember that it is the work of a State Convention of Delegates all of whom as well as their constituents at home had warmly supported Mr. Van Buren in his first election, but who patriotically refuse to support him further, and then ask and answer to yourselves the question whether, so far from subjecting themselves to the imputation of inconsistency, they do not affix the charge, in all its revolting grossness on the man who has abandoned them!

The Conservatives of this great State, along with those of Virginia, (with the gallant Breckinridge, the gifted and accomplished; and Garland and Hopkins, the two Canpbells, and a score or more of other names scarcely less illustrious in the Republican ranks)—the same great party in Pennsylvania and other States having thus literally *settled* this great question of the Presidency in favour of the true Republican candidate, it may be asked why at all address you in favor of the man of our choice? We answer, that we yearn to see Missouri, too, redeemed from the despotic thralldom of party names, and take her elevated stand in reference to those great principles which can alone render her respectable, prosperous and happy. Instead of being the last, Missouri, of all others, should have been the first State to rally in support of the patriot of Ohio. We believe she would have been, but for the systematic efforts which have been made to keep his real character concealed from the public view. He has never been a favourite with politicians of either party, because, in the very language which our opponents have quoted for another purpose, "the leaders do not feel as sure of getting paid for their services with him, as with other candidates, who have implicitly come into their views." But now that he is fully before the country—in a single-handed and unnumbered contest for the first office within the gift of a people he has so long, so ably and so disinterestedly served, we repeat the desire that Missouri, instead of being the last should at least take her stand *side by side* with those sisters of the confederacy who have less special cause of grateful confidence in a Statesman, who sacrificed himself at home in his struggle for us.

Fellow citizens—It will answer at once to explain this debt of gratitude, and to refute the stale and abandoned calumny of *Abolition*, that more than twenty years ago Wm. Henry Harrison was the only Representative from Ohio who voted to welcome Missouri into the Union, with the slaves that were then felling her forests and cultivating her prairies, while during the same year Mr. Van Buren was writing and circulating a pamphlet of "Considerations" in favor of the election of Rufus King, the author of the restriction upon the admission of Missouri! Mr. Van Buren not only subsequently supported Mr. King for the office of Senator of the United States, but voted for the preamble and resolutions of the New York Legislature, asserting the CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT of Congress to keep us out, unless we sent away our slaves, and shut the door to immigration from the Slave States, and instructing this same Mr. King and his colleague to vote accordingly. If, according to the correspondence of Mr. Jefferson* at that eventful period, the Missouri question was the most important one that had ever divided the federal and republican parties, we have the vote of General Harrison, Congress, and the vote of Mr. Van Buren in the New York Senate, as beacons to trace us back to 1819 '20, when party names were used according to the principles by which statesmen were governed. Mr. Van Buren's biography does not pretend to excuse this vote on the score that it was given conformably to the instructions of his constituents, as some of his apologists now do—for even he had too much self-respect to pretend that they could instruct him to assert a "Constitutional right" contrary to his own opinions of the Constitution.

Who ever may be the opinions of General Har-
riet on respecting the abstract question of sla-
very, his doctrine has never been that the peo-
ple of each state *separately* will be to their own jud-
ges. This will be evinced by an examination
of his whole political career. As early as 1808
his views were fully avowed. At that time
he was Governor of Indiana territory, and was
chosen President of a Convention of the people
of that territory held at Vincennes, and he trans-
mitted to Congress a memorial of the Conven-
tion praying at least the prohibition of the
Ordinance of '87, which prohibit d slavery in
the North-Western Territory. It is in favour of
a federal treaty, known to all who have kept pace
with the events of this truly respectable and labori-
ous life, *in all the questions* which arose
in Congress during his sojourn in either of its
branches, General Harrison was ever with the
South in reference to this delicate and con-
trolling question—the shape in which it was pre-
sented whatever it might. We have even passed
at this point of our labours to consult with each
other whether it was not necessary to a fully
truth so proven—a d undeniable, and the result
has been the determining it so to present the
FACTS in reference to this last, and most notable
humbug of the party leaders, as that he right
portion of the people who have so long been im-
posed upon by their misdoings and insincerity,
may see *who* it is the attempt to prejudice and
discredit it without leading or reflection whatever
may be said or written by a *Whig*.

In November 1818, an engrossed resolution declaring the admission of Illinois into the Union "on an equal footing with the original States," was read a third time, and on its passage, was opposed by Mr. T. Alnidge, *principally* because he thought the "principle of slavery was not sufficiently guarded against" in the Constitution, sixth article, which he considered "contravene[d] the letter and spirit of the general provision" relating to that subject, contained in the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the North Western territory.¹

Mr. Pointdexter of Mississippi replied: "He deprecated slavery, but it was not a matter of choice now; whether we should have slaves among us or not."²

* See the famous Bloodgood Circular, Oct. 23, 1839.

¹ See his letters.

General Harrison, "as a representative of Ohio, protested against the doctrine of the gentlemen from New-York. He could assure the gentleman, that the people of that state were fully aware of their privileges, and would never consent to sit in House, or in the State of New-York, for permission to violate their Constitution as to admit the introduction of slavery—the object of the gentlemen's abhorrence, as well as his own. They had entered into a compact which had shorn the people of their Sovereign Authority." He contended that the states North West of the Ohio had the right to admit the introduction of slavery if they pleased. (See Richmond Enquirer, N. Y. 27th, 1818.) The resolution was taken by yeas and nays, and carried—General Harrison voting for it. Also, see Niles' Register, v. 15, p. 226.

The able proceedings and debates will show that General Harrison not only defended the rights of the Southern States, but also the true State Rights doctrines of '98--the Sovereign authority of the People within the States."

to F. Douglass, 1840, in *W. L. G. Papers*, 1:10

for its punishment of crimes whereof this party shall have been fully convicted," on which question the vote was taken by yeas and nays,—yeas 87, nays 76. So the amendment imposing restrictions upon the introduction of slavery into the state of Mississippi passed. General Harrison's name is recorded among the yeas; and throughout the whole contest, he voted in favor of the rights of the Southern States, in opposition to every one of his colleagues, and of every representative of the non-slaveholding States, except 2. (See *Niles' Register*, vol. 15, p. 478.)

Again—an opportunity was afforded to test the soundness or unsoundness of his principles upon the slave question, and it will be found that, as in the cases referred to above, his principles and conduct were sound and orthodox. In February, 1819, to a bill to establish a "separate Territorial Government in the southern part of the Missouri Territory," an amendment, somewhat similar to that proposed to the bill for the admission of Missouri, was offered. The amendment was in the words: "That the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted." "And that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof to the Union, should be free at the age of twenty-five years." A division of the question was called for, and the vote was first taken on agreeing to the first clause thereof, in the following words: "That the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted." "And decided as follows: Yeas 70, nays 71—General Harrison voting against it. The question was then taken on the remaining clause of the proposed amendment, in these words:—"And all children born of slaves within the said Territory, shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years." This amendment was decided as follows: yeas 73, nays 73. So the last clause of the amendment was carried. General Harrison voted nay. Mr. Bassett, of Virginia, moved a recommitment of the bill to a select committee. He invoked "the majority to sustain their constitutional rights, which he considered to be assailed in the amendment just adopted." The motion to recommit was lost by a vote of 77 for, and 79 against it. Gen. Harrison voted with Mr. Bassett, to recommit. Subsequently a motion to recommit the bill was made, by Mr. Robertson of Kentucky, "to a select committee, with instructions to strike out these words: 'And all children born of slaves within the said Territory, shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years.'" The vote stood 88 to 88, and the Speaker (H. Clay) decided the question, and voted to recommit. Here, again, General Harrison decided this important question—he voted in the affirmative, and thus made a tie.

The committee reported the bill, amended as instructed. The question was then taken on agreeing to the bill, as amended, and was decided in the affirmative, yeas 89, nays 87. General Harrison voted yeas. So Congress finally determined not to impose restrictions upon slavery in the Territory of Arkansas.

Mr. Taylor moved an amendment, viz: "That neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should hereafter be introduced into the said Territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This amendment was determined in the negative—yeas 86, nays 90. General Harrison again voted in the negative. [See Niles' Register, vol. 16, p. 84.]

Fellow citizens: These votes and these speeches caused the defeat of General Harrison who next a candidate for Congress in 1822. In his previous election, he had received a majority of about 1300 of the voters, over all other candidates (and there were 5 or 6) yet when a candidate a second time he was beaten by a single competitor about 390.

The only charge against him was, that he had given the votes, and pursued the course set above. In vain he declared to the people that the oath he had taken to support the Constitution of the United States, compelled him to give the votes; that that instrument guaranteed to the Southern States the institution of slavery, if they willed it so; and as he could not swear falsely, he was compelled to sustain, by his votes, the right of Missouri to recognize slavery. The people of his Congressional District might have been induced to pardon this offense, as he was told—but he had voted to admit slavery in *Arkansas*. This they could not forgive. He contended that there was no obligation resting upon him to vote to establish slavery in *Territory*. He contended, but in vain, that "as *Mississippi* had been purchased out of the common fund of the Union, the Southern States had a right to an equal share of its Territory as an outlet for their population, and that the exclusion of slaves from *Missouri* and *Arkansas* would, in effect, exclude emigrants from every Southern State."

Gen. Hays, for that opinion, was represented, in a caricature in Ohio, leading a train of negroes in chains. FOR THIS HE WAS BEATEN AT HOME, yet do the leaders of the party in Missouri attempt to fix upon *this man* the charge of unfriendliness to the slave States, and to awaken the fears and the prejudices of less informed citizens in respect to this delicate interest. Fellow citizens—What confidence do the statements of such men deserve, in *any* respect, who involve their political hopes or political interests?

Fellow citizens—Let it not be supposed that Gen. Harrison was unadvised as to the effect of his course upon his election. He well knew that it would, in all probability, defeat him, and he so

expressed himself at the time to an intimate friend a co-laborer in the cause, (now a Senator in Congress;) but his construction of the Constitution left him no alternative, and nerved him for the conflict—and, in the end, his prospects for honorable preferment have been, and are now, greatly enhanced.

"It is confirmed to us, that Mr. Gasley is elected in *opposition* to Gen. Harrison. A friend informs us, which we are sorry to hear, that Gen. Harrison was *opposed as a friend to the General Government*, (Mr. Monroe was then President,) *but particularly on account of his adherence to that principle of the Constitution which secures to the people of the South their pre-existing rights.*"

In the Enquirer of the 5th of November, 1822, Mr. Ritchie says: "We regret the failure of Gen. Harrison," to which we may add that the whole republican party of that day joined in regretting the failure of such a man for such a cause.

But, fellow citizens, determined as we have done to put to shame and disgrace the party leaders who fluninate this foul charge, we will so furnish on the space which remains to us, as to copy, in extenso, the remarks made by General Harrison in his speech at Vincennes in 1835, which, being published at the time in the *Whig papers*, and repeatedly since his nomination, have only failed to find their way amongst the great mass of the people, not only by the studied neglect, but the absolute refusal of the presses of the administration to admit them into their columns! It is by this systematic plan of closing the columns of the (so called) *Democratic newspapers* against every thing which may defend or vindicate an opponent, or expose a partizan friend; and by poisoning the public mind against any and every thing which may appear in the *Whig Journals*, that party wrong and party delusion has so long borne sway in Missouri. "I never saw General Harrison's Vincennes Speech" (said a respectable friend of the administration, to a member of this committee, but three or four days since at Glasgow) "and really I should be pleased to read it if it be such as you describe it." For the information of all citizens alike candid and honorable with this one, we here incorporate it. It will be found alike just and eloquent—at once vindicating its distinguished author from the charge under consideration, and establishing his claims to rank as one of the first debaters and statesmen of the age:

Extract from General Harrison's Vincennes Speech.

"I have now, fellow citizens, a few words more to say on another subject, which is, in my opinion of more importance than any other that is now in the course of discussion in any part of the Union. I allude to the societies which have been formed, and the movements of certain individuals in some of the States in relation to a portion of the population in this country. I am certain, gentlemen, in this assembly, that you are all true and brave men, and that there are few within the bounds of the State, if there are any, I would earnestly entreat them to forbear ; to pause in their career and deliberately consider the consequence of their conduct to the whole Union, to those for whose benefit they profess to act. That the latter will be the victims of the weak, injudicious, presumptuous and unconstitutional efforts to serve them, a thorough examination of the subject must convince you. The struggle and struggle there must be may commence with words such as I have described, but it will end with more firmly riveting the chains, or in the entire extirpation of those whose cause they advocate.

"Am I w^g fellow-citizens, in applying the terms *veto*, *presumptuous* and *unconstitutional* to the measures of the emancipators? A slight examination will, I think, show that I am not. In a vindication of the objects of a Convention which was lately held in one of the towns of Ohio, which I saw in a newspaper, it was said that nothing more was to be expected from the Convention than a resolution which would lead to an amendment of the Constitution, authorizing the abolition of Slavery in the United States. Now can an amendment of the Constitution be effected without the consent of the Southern States? What then is the proposition to be submitted to them? It is this: "The present provisions of the Constitution secure to you the right (a right which you held before it was made) to give up, or to manage your domestic concerns in your own way, but should you be convinced that you do not manage them properly, we want you to put it in the hands of the General Government, in the councils of which we have the majority, the control over these matters, the effect of which will be virtually to transfer the power from yours into our hands. Again! in some of the States, and in sections of others, the black population exceeds that of the white. Some of the quarters propose an immediate abolition of Slavery. What is the proposition then, as it regards these States and parts of States, but the alternatives of amalgamation with the blacks, or an exchange of situations with them? Is there any man of common sense, who does not believe that the emancipated blacks, being a majority, will not insist upon a full participation of political rights with the whites and when possessed of these, they will not contend for the same with the whites? Also! Is it not the extreme of weakness and folly to induce any one to think, that such propositions as these could be listened to by a people so intelligent as the Southern States?"

"But the course pursued by the emancipator is unconstitutional. I do not say that there are any words in the Constitution which forbid the discussions they are engaged in—I know that there are not. And there is even an article which secures to the citizens the right to express and publish their opinions without restriction. But in the construction of the Constitution it is always necessary to refer to the circumstances under which it was framed, and to ascertain its meaning by a comparison of its provisions with each other, and with the particular situation of the several States, and with the parties to it. In this portion of the slavery was recognized, and they took care to have the right secured to them, to follow and reclaim such of them as were fugitives to other States. The laws of Congress passed under this power, have provided punishment of any who shall oppose or interrupt the exercise of this right. Now, can any one believe that the instrument which contains a provision of this kind, which authorizes a master to pursue his slave into another State, take him up, and provide a punishment for any citizen of the State who should oppose him, could authorize the latter to assemble together, to pass resolutions and adopt addresses, not only to encourage the slaves to leave their masters, but to cut their throats before they do so?"

"I insist that if the citizens of the non slave holding States can avail themselves of the article of the Constitution, which prohibits the restriction of speech or the press to publish any thing injurious to the rights of the slave-holding States, that they can go to the extreme that I have mentioned, and effect any thing further which writing or speaking could effect. But, fellow citizens, these are not the objects of the Constitution. If the States were to do this, they would defeat one of the great objects of its formation, which was that of securing the peace and harmony of the States which were parties to it. The liberty of speech and of the press, were given as the most effectual means to preserve to each and every citizen their own rights, and to the States the rights which appertained to them at the time of the formation of the Constitution. If the States were to do this, it would be used by the citizens of one portion of the States for the purpose of depriving those of another portion, of the rights which they had reserved at the adoption of the Constitution, and in the exercise of which, none but themselves have